1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such actions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words. 867 593 858

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and possessions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you. 867 593

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute. [602] [606] [837]

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you 867 602 [765]

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed.

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

### THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitruk'ere*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waxoxegi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

[837] Never desire to have any other man than your husband when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

7:Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [579] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 With us there were two grass widows and after a 273 while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

1

## *Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
● [839] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
[789] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

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## §17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left.

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me.

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer.

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## §21. *Dissipation*

While staying at this woman's lodge I was one day handed a paper by a woman, in which she told me that she was married, that she was living at a certain place, and that if I came over, she would do whatever I said. I told the woman with whom I was living about it, and she said, "Go after her, that I may have her as my companion." Her father had a horse, and on it I rode over to the woman's house. I went there secretly, and watched the people digging potatoes, for their camp was nearby. The man to whom this woman was married was also living with another woman at the same time. The woman I was after was staying in this camp. I approached her secretly and when I reached the place she got herself ready to go with me. The two of us rode on a pony, and it so happened that we had to pass the place where the husband was working. He pursued us, but we managed to get away. In a short time I arrived home, and my wife received the second woman willingly. They would sleep with me on alternate nights.

After we finished our work there, we went to the place from which we had originally come, and we arrived home just in time for the annuity payment. The superintendent of the Wittenberg school made the

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payment. At about the same time, one of the two women with whom I was living was taken away from me. She went to live with another man. When the payment was over here, the superintendent went to Necedah to pay the people there, and I went along, for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment." There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I started off with a number of other young men. By this time I was spending all my time drinking.

I got on the train at night. We were to change cars at a place called Honsa and from there we were to ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at night we became thirsty and so we looked around for water. We found a number of pools scattered around, and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep. The next morning when we woke up we saw a good well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it. Eventually we reached our destination, and there found many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That was exactly the place I had been looking for. Whenever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adulterer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time.

After finishing at Necedah the superintendent always went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and there would always be stealing of one another's wives, fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gambling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home.

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## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 ●839 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My [867] father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[554] [301] [28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

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## § 24. *A Woman Quarrels with Me*

*159 ● 831 508 152 I was met by my father and mother and a woman who was living with me before I left. They were very glad to see me. When I got home I found many people camping there. At the camp the woman fixed a bed for me, gave me some food, and told me to lie down with her. Instead, I went out and made inquiries about a woman with whom I had once lived. I found that she was still there. To her lodge I went, and with her I stayed that night. In the morning the other woman was angry. However, I continued staying with this new one. Late on the following night some one woke me up. "Come out," the voice said. I went out with a blanket around me and found my former wife. She it was who was calling me. She said, "In the morning [650] the annuity payment is to be paid in Neecdah. I am going there to-night, and I want you to go with me." "I haven't any money," I answered. "As though you ever had any money of your own when you wanted to do something!" I refused to go with her. She persisted, and finally I went back and lay down. After a while she followed me inside and hit me very hard and called me names. She kicked me and pulled my hair. "If I had anything with which to kill you, I would kill you." Finally I got angry, and she stopped and went away.

* 159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded
finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good
deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made
thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair.
We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time.
There were some prisoners locked up together with us
whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed
to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came, they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were quite humble about it.

* 159 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
152 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
648 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
● 837 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear about this report that my wife has married again. When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has married her, for he is taking care of her until my release. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

## *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

provided for." Thus I spoke. But the truth of it was that I was as angry as I could very well be. I made up my mind that I would take her away from whomsoever she might be living with. Then I thought that I would make her feel as sad as I could; I thought I would disfigure her, cut off her nose, then take her to the wilderness, give her a sound beating, and leave her there. I could not think of anything else all the time, and I believe that for a time I did not even taste food. I often felt like crying. At night I would not be able to sleep, for I could not forget the whole affair. Sometimes I would dream of seeing her, and then in the morning I would tell the others about it and feel better. Throughout all this time I never thought of all those of my relatives who were really concerned for me. Not even that grateful was I. I only thought of the woman.

Now the time for the next session of the court had arrived. It was the spring session. We were given a trial. They always took us to the court in handcuffs. We had each a lawyer. At the first hearing one of us was freed, the other three remaining in prison. Then the lawyers pleaded the case of the others, and two more were freed, I being one of these. The man who had actually done the killing was the only one who remained in prison.

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## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the • [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong [832] one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [520] of songs at the Brave Dance; [99] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[99] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.